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THE LOST EDITION OF VISIGOTHIC POETRY
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SUMMARY: Seventeenth-century sources describe a lost edition of Dracontius, Eugenius of Toledo and other poems with notes of commentary produced by Miguel Ruiz de Azagra, an almost unknown Spanish scholar, editor of Corippus (1589). This lost edition would have been previous to the *editio princeps* of Eugenius published in 1619 by the efforts of Jacques Sirmond. The part concerning Dracontius has been discussed some years ago («Aevum», 80, 2006). The present article marks the discovery of the complete edition in a manuscript (Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitulare, 58-1-3). Had it been printed, it would have been a milestone in the editorial history of late-antique and early-medieval authors in Spain. It shows Ruiz de Azagra as a skilled editor and scholar.

The poems of Eugenius of Toledo, the most remarkable poet of the seventh century, were published for the first time in 1619 by the Jesuit Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651)¹. This work remained the most important and influential edition until the issue in 1782 of the comprehensive anthology of Spanish authors commissioned by Cardinal Francisco de Lorenzana, whose editors had been able to supplement Sirmond's text from a more complete early-medieval Spanish manuscript discovered two centuries earlier². And this publication was only surpassed by Friedrich Vollmer's remarkable edition in 1905³.

¹ *Beati Eugenii Episcopi Toletani Opuscula, quibus inserti sunt Dracontii libelli duo ab Eugenio eodem olim recogniti. Adiecta item aliorum aliquot veterum scriptorum varia*, Parisiis, ex officina Nivelliana apud Sebastianum Cramoisy. On Sirmond, see B. JOASSART, *Jacques Sirmond et les débuts du Bollandisme*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 119 (2001), 345-56 (bibliogr. on 346, n. 5). Sirmond used several manuscripts kept in France: see P.F. ALBERTO, in *Eugenii Toletani Opera Omnia*, Turnhout 2005 (CC SL, 114), 156-59. Before his edition, only single poems had been published anonymously (see *ibid.* 157-58).

² *SS. PP. Toletanorum quotquot extant opera nunc primum simul edita, ad codices mss. recognita, nonnullis notis illustrata*, Matriti 1782-1793. See p. XXVI and 19. Lorenzana's editors reproduced Sirmond's text, supplying it with additional notes and emendations taken from Azagra's codex and from later copies of it. See ALBERTO, *Eugenii Toletani Opera*, 159-60; P.F. ALBERTO, *Notes on the earliest editions of Eugenius of Toledo: some manuscripts that never existed*, «Aevum», 80 (2006), 769-85: 770-71, n. 8.

³ *Fl. Merobaudis reliquiae, Blossii Aemilii Dracontii carmina, Eugenii Toletani Episcopi*

Just five years after Sirmond's book, Caspar von Barth (1587-1658) remarked that there existed, after all, a previous edition that no one had ever seen. Its author was said to be Miguel Ruiz de Azagra, an almost unknown editor and scholar who died before 1587. Indeed, in his *Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX*, published in 1624, von Barth, using Sirmond's edition, mentions Azagra's work and begs the reader to provide him with a copy⁴. His source is likely to be Azagra's own edition of the African poet Corippus⁵. Later authors, such as Johann Albert Fabricius (1697), Polycarp Leyser (1721) and Johann Benedict Carpzov (1794), also referred to this unattainable edition⁶.

There is scant information about Ruiz de Azagra's life. He was secretary to Rudolf II (1552-1612), Holy Roman Emperor (1576-1612), king of Hungary and Croatia (1572-1608), king of Bohemia (1576-1611) and archduke of Austria (1576-1608), when he published his edition of Corippus, dedicated to Cardinal Albert, Rudolf's brother. The dedicatory letter is dated Madrid, April 10 1579. He claims to have also been secretary to the archdukes of Austria Ferdinand (1521-1564) and his son Maximilian II (1564-1576), the father of Rudolf and Albert. In his edition, he included an epic poem comprising more than 120 hexameters, which he had composed and delivered in Frankfurt in November 1562, on the occasion of the coronation of Maximilian II⁷.

His contemporary Ambrosio de Morales gives a vivid picture of him in 1574:

Carmina et Epistulae, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, XIV, ed. F. VOLLMER, Berlin 1905. This edition had been preceded by an important study on the manuscript tradition: *Die Gedichtsammlung des Eugenius von Toledo*, «Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde», 26 (1901), 393-409.

⁴ *Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX*, Francofurti 1624, lib. 55, cap. 11, col. 2615: "Illud monere etiam doctos volumus, & nihil non Antiquitatis Christianae cognoscere studentes, etiam ante Jacobum Sirmondum, quem tam hujus quam plurium alium (*sic, e.g. aliorum*) auctorum restitutionis gratiâ meritò semper laudamus, Dracontium hunc ab Eugenio contractum & interpolatum edidisse in Hispaniâ Michaellem Ruissium Assagrium, cujus beneficio Corippum habemus. Nos verò magnoperè quaesitam eam Editionem indipisci nullâ diligentîâ valuisse; rogare autem si qui sit, qui usum ejus nobis facere possit, magno nos officio demeriturum"; lib. 21, cap. 2, col. 1018: "Assagrio non possumus non dare testimonium boni iudicij, quod certè è singulis paginis apparet. Utinam Dracontius quoque ejus & Eugenius, qui Dracontij Epitomem fecit, in manus nostras venissent".

⁵ *Corippi Africani Grammatici de Laudibus Iustini Augusti minoris, heroico carmine, libri IIII. Nunc primum è tenebris in lucem asserti; Scholiis etiam & Observationibus illustrati per Michaëlem Ruizium Assagrium Celtibèrum*, Antuerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1581, 74: "ceterum in nostro exemplari, quod, vt alibi ad opus Dracontij poetae de Fabrica mundi, & ad carmina simul D. Eugenij Episcopi Toletani diffusè praefati sumus, non ex coniecturis, sed fide planè certissima, constat ante septingentos, & eo amplius, annos fuisse descriptum...".

⁶ J.A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca latina: sive Notitia auctorum veterum Latinorum, quorumcunque scripta ad nos pervenerunt*, Hamburgi 1697, p. A. 36; Hamburgi 1712, 700; Venezia 1728, II, 232; Id., *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae Aetatis*, Hamburgi 1734, vol. II, lib. IV, 189; P. LEYSER, *Historia Poetarum et poematum Medii Aevi decem, post annum a nato Christo CCCC. seculorum. Centum et amplius codicum nostrorum ope carmina varia... evulgantur, emendantur, recensentur*, Halae Magdeb[urgicae] 1721, 59; J.B. CARPZOV, *Dracontii Presbyteri Hispani carmen epicum Hexaameron ab Eugenio II episcopo Toletano emendatum ejusdemque elegia ad Theodosium Iuniorum, Imperatorem Augustum*, Helmstadii 1794, 21 (modelled on Leyser).

⁷ At the end of the poem, one reads (p. 70): "Cantata & dicata Francfordiae ad Moenum, vbi Maximilianus Austrius inauguratus fuit, & electus Rex Romanorum VII Cal. Decembreis, die S. Catharinae sacro, Anno natalis Iesu Christi M.D.LXII".

“Michaël Ruizius Açagra, serenissimorum Bohemiae Principum Ernesti & Rodulphi à secretis, adolescens ingenio & litteris ornatissimus, & in peruestiganda omni antiquitate studij & diligentiae singularis”⁸. And in the third volume of the *Corónica General* published in 1577: “hombre de mucho ingenio, adornado con buenas letras, y con un gran deseo y diligencia en descubrir todo género de antigüedad”⁹. Later authors do not add further details on his life and achievements¹⁰.

Some time before 1570¹¹, Ruiz de Azagra bought an old codex in Valladolid containing an extraordinary collection of poetry¹². Several sets of poems seem to be poetic anthologies presumably arranged in seventh-century Spain, consequently representing the authors and texts read and studied in the Visigothic kingdom. Others are products of late ninth-century Córdoba.

The codex is today Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 10029. It is in fact a set of portions of late ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts. Part I (fol. 1-60 and 69-76, s. IX²-X in., Córdoba area) and Part II (fol. 61-68, s. IX ex., northern Spain) contain Dracontius in Eugenius’ version, Sedulius’ hymn 1, Corippus’ panegyrics to Anasthasius and Justin II, Eugenius of Toledo and other seventh-century Visigothic poems; Part III (fol. 77-144, s. IX ex.-X in., Córdoba area, belonging to a certain Vincentius), Verecundus’ *De satisfactione paenitentiae*, Juvenius, *carm.* 9, 2 of Venantius Fortunatus, and poems of Cyprian and Samson of Córdoba; Part IV (fol. 145-159, s. X, northern Spain), texts related to Eulogius of Córdoba, some of which are by his biographer Albarus¹³. In the eleventh century, these manu-

⁸ A. MORALES, *Divi Eulogii Cordubensis, Martyris, Doctoris et electi Archiepiscopi Toletani Opera*, Compluti 1574 (the dedicatory letter to Pedro Ponce de León is dated in 1572), fol. iir (*Ad lectorem*).

⁹ *Los otros dos libros Undecimo y Duodecimo de la Córónica General de España, que continuaba Ambrosio de Morales*, III, Alcalá de Henares 1577, fol. ¶ 10v.

¹⁰ See, for instance, N. ANTONIO, *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum qui usquam unquamve sive Latina sive populari sive alia quavis lingua scripto aliquid consignaverunt notitia...*, I, Romae 1672, 592: “Ioannes Ruiz de Azagra, Aragonensis, ut existimo, Serenissimorum Rodulphi & Ernesti Bohemiae Principum à secretis, qui ab aequalibus audit doctissimus & eruditissimus, minuta quaedam elucubravit”; G. DE ARGAIZ, *Corona real de España por España fundada en el credito de los muertos...*, Madrid 1668, 37.

¹¹ See footnote 19.

¹² At the bottom of fol. dr, one reads: “Hunc codicem Gotthicum quo superiora continentur pene lacerum Vallisoleti pretio redemit Michael Ruyzcius Azagra Imperatoris Rodolphi secundi secretarius. Quo mortuo ab eius haeredibus impetrauit et in hanc bibliothecam transtulit Ioannes Baptista Peressius canonicus et fabricae huius ecclesiae Toletanae praefectus anno M.D.LXXX.VII”.

¹³ The most important study of the manuscript is M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península. Ensayo de distribución regional*, Sevilla 1995 (Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla. Serie: Historia y Geografía, 11), 130-34 (with bibliogr. in n. 395); see also M. VENDRELL PEÑARANDA, *Estudio del códice de Azagra, Biblioteca nacional de Madrid, ms. 10029*, «Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos», 82 (1979), 655-705; M.G. BIANCO, *Verecundi Iuncensis Carmen de paenitentia*, Napoli 1984 (Collana di studi e testi KOINΩNIA, 10), 36-40. Recent descriptions are in *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional. XIV (9501-10200)*, Madrid 2000, 300-01, and K. REINHARDT - R. GONZÁLEZ, *Catálogo de los códices bíblicos de la catedral de Toledo*, Madrid 1990 (Monumenta Ecclesiae Toletanae historica; Series I, Regesta et inventaria historica, 2), 415-16; see also A. MILLARES CARLO, *Manuscritos visigóticos: notas bibliográficas*, Barcelona 1963 (Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, 1), 41-42, no. 78, and Id., *Tratado de paleografía española*, I, Madrid 1983³, 330 no. 141.

scripts were known in the area of León¹⁴, and in the twelfth century the portions were gathered in a single codex. It has been proposed that it was kept at the cathedral of Oviedo before being found by Azagra in Valladolid some time before 1572, but we lack conclusive evidence¹⁵. When Ambrosio de Morales visited Oviedo in 1572¹⁶, the manuscript was already in the possession of Azagra, who lent it to the illustrious scholar¹⁷.

For many texts it is the *codex unicus* (Corippus, some of Eugenius' pieces, Cyprrian and Samson of Córdoba), for many others it is one of their most important witnesses (Dracontius, Eugenius, the *Disticha Catonis*, Verecundus, Martin of Braga). In 1587, after Ruiz de Azagra's death, his *pervetustus codex* entered the cathedral of Toledo by the efforts of his friend, and eminent scholar, Juan Bautista Pérez (c. 1537-1597), canon of Toledo and bishop of Segorbe from 1591 until his death. It is mentioned in the inventories of 1591, 1605, 1664 and 1727¹⁸. It was

¹⁴ P.F. ALBERTO, *Eugenius of Toledo's poetry in León and Asturias in the Eleventh Century*, in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies*, Cambridge, September 9-12, 1998, ed. M.W. HERREN et al., Turnhout 2002 (Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 5), 16-28: 24-25.

¹⁵ In a note to Verecundus in Isidore's *De uiris illustribus* published in Juan Grial's *Divi Isidori Hispal. episcopi opera. Philippi II Cathol. Regis iussu e vetustis exemplaribus emendata*, I, Matriti 1599, 120.B, Juan Bautista Pérez, who presented the codex to the Cathedral of Toledo in 1587, states that a volume containing the *De satisfactione paenitentiae* (i.e. Madrid, BNE, ms. 10029), once at the Cathedral of Oviedo, came into the possession of Azagra: "Vidi porrò huius Verecundi ipsum libellum de poenitentia hexametris scriptum cuius hoc est initium. 'Quis mihi moesta dabit lacrymosis imbribus ora'. Is liber Gothicis litteris descriptus fuit olim Ecclesiae Ouetensis, postea apud Michaellem Ruyzium Azagrium amicum meum, Rodolphi Imperatoris Secretarium". See also Jacques du Breul's *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi opera omnia quae exstant... emendata per fratrem Iacobum du Breul*, Parisiis 1601, 779, H. FLÓREZ, *España Sagrada. Theatro Geographico-historico de la Iglesia de España, Tomo V. De la provincia Carthaginense en particular*, Madrid 1750, 408, and F. LORENZANA, *SS. PP. Toletanorum Opera*, I, Matriti 1782, 265. Also Ambrosio de Morales states that the codex came "ex Asturibus" (Madrid, BNE, ms. 18437, fol. 107r: see below n. 19). Its presence in Oviedo was accepted by G. DE ANDRÉS, *Los Códices Visigóticos de la Catedral de Oviedo*, «Cuadernos Bibliográficos», 31 (1974), 5-29: 28; see, however, M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Códices Visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa*, León 1983 (Colección Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, 31), 230-31, n. 231; 232, n. 236.

¹⁶ H. FLÓREZ, *Viaje de Ambrosio de Morales por orden del rey D. Phelipe II a los reynos de Leon, y Galicia, y principado de Asturias: para reconocer las reliquias de Santos, sepulcros reales, y libros manuscritos de las cathedrales y monasterios*, Madrid 1765, 93-98: 98.

¹⁷ *Divi Eulogii Cordubensis...* 1574, fol. 1r (*Ad lectorem*): "Huius Diui Eulogii vitę duo habuimus exemplaria. Alterum cum sancti operibus in vetustissimo Ovetensi ad finem cohaerebat. Alterum mihi benigne commodauerat Michaël Ruizius Açagra [...]. Fuit is etiam codex literis Gothicis in membranis descriptus, & quod multis indicijis apparebat, itidem vetustissimus. Plura continet poemata, Dracontij nimirum de opere sex dierum libros duos, cum diui Eugenij tertij Archiepiscopi Toletani supplementis: Coryppi grammatici Africani ad Iustinianum Imperatorem libros tres: eiusdem D. Eugenij epigrammata & quedam alia"; *Corónica general de España*, III, 1577, fol. ¶ 10v: "Miguel Ruiz de Açagra, secretario de los Principes de Bohemia [...] me presto muy liberalmente un exemplar muy antiguo que el tiene, de letra Gothica, donde ay muchas cosas raras, y que creo hasta ahora no se han visto, y principalmente muchos epigramas, y otras obras en verso del santo Arçobispo de Toledo Eugenio, tercero deste nombre". See also III (1577), lib. 12, c. 28 (fol. 137v-138r), 12, 34 (fol. 147v-148); IV (1586), 15, 22 (fol. 169r).

¹⁸ Madrid, BNE, ms. 13830, fol. 102r (30-22) (it is the last item on the list, added by a different hand: "Eugenius tertius Archiepiscopus Toletanus: continet plurima opuscula ipsius et aliorum, scripta carmine literis Gothicis, ex quo transcriptus est qui supra est positus [i.e. item

used by Ambrosio de Morales, who made a copy with marginal notes in 1570¹⁹. Other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies survive²⁰. As said previously, it was collated for the volume commissioned by Cardinal Lorenzana, issued in 1782.

Azagra devoted himself to editing these rare and unpublished texts, evidently leaving aside the widely available Juvencus and Sedulius. As we have seen, the first edition of Corippus came forth in Antwerp in 1581, with a preface dated Madrid, 1579. Unfortunately, the edition of Dracontius, Eugenius and the other poems has never been printed²¹.

Copies of a manuscript version, however, were circulating after his death within learned circles in Spain. Jerónimo Román de la Higuera († 1611), a most unreliable author and editor, seems to have examined a copy²². In 1672, Nicolás Antonio

30-34, see footnote 20], parva forma membranis") (1591); ms. 13630, fol. 14r (30-22) (1605); ms. 13630, fol. 37v (30-20) (1664); ms. 13413, fol. 197, no. 198 (15-15) (1727); ms. 13449, fol. 34v-35r (14-22) (1807). This was the shelfmark known to Vollmer. The cover reads *Hh. 134*.

¹⁹ A copy of Morales' copy is today Madrid, BNE, ms. 18437, fol. 107-44, s. XVIII. On fol. 107r one reads: "Anno Domini M.D.LXX Compluti. Vetustissimus Codex unde nos quae sequuntur omnia transcripsimus literis Gothicis fuit descriptus, quae quingentis ut minimum ab hinc annis exaratae uiderentur. Hoc illorum temporum scriptura his qui plures codices uiderunt satis aperte probat. Est autem hic codex Michaelis Ruizzij Azagrae Rodolphi et Ernesti Boehemiae principum à secretis iuuenis docti et perhumani. Nos quae nostra intererat solum transtulimus reliqua quae et cuiusmodi essent hic indicauimus. Is codex ex Asturibus fuerat aduectus. Morales". The copyist states: "omnia quae in codice isto continentur exscripta fuere manu Ambrosij Moralis Cordubensis ex altero codice Gottico uetustissimo nos quae inde fideliter transcripsimus". It comes from the library of Pascual de Gayangos. See P. ROCA, *Catálogo de los manuscritos que pertenecieron a D. Pascual de Gayangos existentes hoy en la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid 1904, no. 218.

²⁰ A partial copy was made in 1580-1590 for Juan Bautista Pérez (Toledo, BC, ms. 27-24, fol. 109v-130r). Another copy of about the same time (BRIQUET 9492, 1570-1579) is today Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, ms. 130, coming from the ancient university of Alcalá. Between 1646 and 1665 a copy was produced by Martín de Jimena Jurado, secretary to Cardinal Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval (1589-1665), archbishop of Toledo from 1646: Madrid, BNE, ms. 590. See *Inventario General de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional, II* (501-896), Madrid 1956, 87-90. Jimena Jurado also used another copy of M mentioned in the inventories of 1591 and 1605 of the Cathedral of Toledo: see Madrid, BNE, ms. 13830, fol. 101v (1591) "Eugenius Tertius Archiepiscopus Toletanus: continet plurima opuscula ipsius et aliorum, scripta carmine nouis literis; hic liber est transcriptus ex quodam uetusto codice et est minoris formae: 30-34". In the margin was written: "son unos quadernos que enpieçan por Draconcio. Y mas integro hallaras este libro en el volumen de apligo que se intitula: *Sanctorum Hispanorum Veterum Opuscula*, a f. 109. Es de mano de letra moderna y esta en el numero 31-15" (this is Toledo, BC, ms. 27-24 made for Bautista Pérez); Madrid, BNE, ms. 13630, fol. 14r (1605): 30-34 "Eugenii tertii aliquot fragmenta literis recentioribus scripta non sunt ligata". In 1664 it is perhaps recorded as "30-32" (Madrid, BNE, ms. 13630, fol. 38r). Jimena Jurado carefully indicates the models he is using (see p. 53 = fol. 37r, *Gothico 30-22 M.S. en pergamino* [= M]; *Copia 30-34 M.S. en papel*). From his work we can conclude that the item mentioned in 1591 and 1605 was not Azagra's edition, but a copy of M. It seems to have disappeared, for no corresponding item is found in the subsequent inventories: see Madrid, BNE, ms. 13413 (1727) and BNE, ms. 13449 (1807). Finally, Berlin, Staatsbibl., lat. fol. 448, by J. Heller in 1878 for the edition of Corippus in *MGH*.

²¹ Arévalo had already observed: *Dracontii poetae christiani Carmina, ex Mss. Vaticanis*, Romae 1791, 36: "quam putabat Barthius, nulla typis ab Azagra facta fuerat Dracontii et Eugenii editio".

²² See the posthumous edition by Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado *Luitprandi subdiaconi Toletani Ticinensis Diaconi tandem Cremonensis episcopi opera quae extant: Chronicon et adversaria*

(1617-1684), in his *Bibliotheca Hispana*, reproduces De la Higuera's information²³; but in his posthumous *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, a work revised by Manuel Martí and published by Antonio's friend Cardinal José Saenz de Aguirre in 1696, he declares to have seen an exemplar of Azagra's edition in the library of D. Pedro Núñez de Guzmán (1615-1678), incorporated into a volume of *Miscellanea*²⁴. Indeed, the catalogue of 1677 of Núñez de Guzmán's library presents Azagra's edition at the end of volume 7 of the *Miscelaneas à folio*²⁵. Many manuscripts of Guzmán entered the library of Luis de Salazar y Castro (1658-1734), and they survive today at the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, forming the *Colección Salazar* since their arrival in 1850. Manuscript N-7 lacks fol. 397 and the following leaves²⁶: one wonders whether these may be the set of leaves numbered 398-413, which is today Madrid 18636-1, as we shall see below²⁷.

Another copy of Azagra's edition was available in the eighteenth century. It appears in the library of Don Fernando José de Velasco y Ceballos (1707-1788), a

nunc primum in lucem exeunt P. Hieronymi de la Higuera... notis illustrata, Antverpiae 1640, 320: "Alter penes me est cum Scholiis Ioannis Ruisij Azagrae à secretis Principum Bohemiae, viri quidem doctissimi, scriptus ex codice Gotthico vetusto in membranâ M. S. sic incipit: 'Quis mihi moesta dabit lacrymosis imbribus ora?'".

²³ N. ANTONIO, *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum...*, I, Romae 1672, 592: "Verecundi Vticensis Episcopi, alterum ex duobus libris metricis, quos Felix, sive Anonymus author de XII Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, qui Isidoro, et Ildefonso subjici solet, ei adtribuit, de Pœnitentia scilicet, hoc initio *Quis mihi maesta dabit lachrymosis imbribus ora* cum scholiis Azagrae nostri penes se esse scriptum reliquit in notis ad Luitprandi Chronicon Era DCLXXXV. Hieronymus Romanus de la Higuera".

²⁴ N. ANTONIO, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus sive Hispanorum qui usquam unquamve scripto aliquid consignaverunt notitia: complectens scriptores omnes qui ab Octaviani Augusti imperio usque ad annum M floruerunt*, I, Romae 1696, lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 282, n. 257: "Michaël enim Ruizius Azagra paraverat olim editionem horum Dracontii & Eugenii carminum ex codice Gotthico ante septingentos annos, ut ipse credebatur, scripto, quae quidem cum epistola eius ad decanum & capitulum Toletanae Ecclesiae Kalendis Aprilis MDLXXVII data, vidimus in mss. bibliothecae Vill-Umbrosanae tomo 7. *Miscellaneorum*. Adjunxerat et breues notulas". The notice shows that Antonio is reproducing Azagra's introduction. See also lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 192, n. 70: "Dracontii nempe utrumque librum, cum secundum seu posteriorem primus Michaël Ruizius Azagrius publicaverit, ut ipse in notulis ad Corippum ait".

²⁵ J. MALDONADO Y PARDO, *Museo o biblioteca selecta de el Exc^{mo} Señor Don Pedro Nuñez de Guzman, Marques de Montealegre, y de Quintana, Conde de Villaumbrosa, y de Castronuevo, Comendador de Huerta, de Valdecarabanos, en la Orden de Calatrava, de los Consejos de Estado, y Guerra, y Presidente del Supremo de Castilla*, Madrid 1677, fol. 171v: "Cursos Latinos, compuestos por S. Eugenio Quarto deste nombre, y Arçobispo de Toledo, y sacados a luz por Miguel Ruiz de Taza, que los dirigió al Cabildo; son muy notables por su antigüedad, folio 399". See A. RODRÍGUEZ-MOÑINO, *La colección de Manuscritos del Marqués de Montealegre (1677)*, «Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia», 126 (1950), 427-88; 127 (1950), 307-44; 327; 561-627; 128 (1951), 219-76. On the library of Pedro Núñez de Guzmán, see the brief remarks in J. FAYARD, *Los miembros del Consejo de Castilla (1621-1746)*, Madrid 1982, 462; J. GARCÍA MORALES, *Un informe de Campomanes sobre las bibliotecas españolas*, «Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos», 75 (1968-1972), 91-126: 117.

²⁶ B. CUARTERO Y HUERTA - A. VARGAS-ZÚÑIGA Y MONTERO DE ESPINOSA, *Índice de la colección de Don Luis de Salazar y Castro*, XXXVIII, Madrid 1967, 102. The volume is today 9/1013 in the Real Academia.

²⁷ The set of leaves was taken away from some volume (the remnants of the glue are clearly visible). Azagra's edition starts at fol. 399r, which the first leaf of a quire; fol. 398 was added and originally only had a list of texts at the top. It is preceded by a blank leaf. Presently the last leaf of the previous text in *Miscelánea N-7* is numbered 396.

learned bibliophile (who actually bought a number of manuscripts from Salazar's library)²⁸. It is recorded in his catalogue dated 1766. The description of the item is vague and one may hesitate whether it only contained the portion with Dracontius²⁹. But a letter addressed by Velasco to Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, dated May 29 1767, allows us to infer that the item in his possession was the complete edition³⁰. This exemplar was lent by Velasco to Pedro Hernández, one of the scholars involved in Lorenzana's edition, when he produced his emendations to this work³¹, which can be found today in Toledo, Biblioteca Provincial Castilla-La Mancha, 79, a manuscript dated 1804³². Velasco's library was bought from his heirs by Don Pedro Caro y Sureda, Marqués de la Romana (1761-1811). Azagra's edition appears in the catalogue of 1805³³.

A copy of Azagra's edition covering most of Dracontius's text and the notes of commentary survives today in Madrid, BNE, ms. 18636-1. It is a set of 16 folios, numbered from 398 to 413, written by one single hand in the mid-seventeenth century³⁴. I have studied this manuscript in a previous article, in which I had also iden-

²⁸ On Velasco's library, see GARCÍA MORALES, *Un informe de Campomanes*, 121; V. MORENO GALLEGÓ, *Burocracia y cultura literaria en el XVIII: el camarista Velasco y su gran biblioteca*, «Trabajos de la Asociación Española de Bibliografía», 2 (1995-1996) [= 1998], 351-82; on his biography, see M. SOLANA, *Don Fernando José de Velasco Ceballos y Fernández de Isla*, «Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo», 7 (1925), 225-49.

²⁹ M. ESCAGEDO SALMÓN, *La Biblioteca del Camarista de Castilla Don Fernando José de Velasco y Ceballos*, Santander 1932, 16: "Dracontius. Sic. Opera addita ab Eugenio hujus nominis III inter toletanos praesules cum Michae. Ruisis. de Azagra observationibus, en fol. Original.". See also G. DE ANDRÉS, *La biblioteca manuscrita del camarista de Castilla Fernando José de Velasco en la Biblioteca Nacional*, «Cuadernos de investigación histórica», 16 (1995), 143-66: 154.

³⁰ G. MAYANS Y SISCAR, *Epistolario. Vol. XVI: Mayans y los altos cuadros de la Magistratura y Administración Borbónica*, 3. *Fernando José de Velasco Ceballos (1753-1781)*, Oliva 1998, 358-59, no. 469: "Deseo saber qué poesías de Sn. Eugenio, arzobispo de Toledo, son las que posee V.S. con notas de Dn. Nicolás Antonio, por si son distintas de las interpoladas con las del poeta Dracontio, que obran en mi poder, con algunos scholios de Miguel Ruiz de Azagra".

³¹ See Tomus I, *Praefatio*, p. XXV.

³² Described in F. ESTEVES BARBA, *Catálogo de la colección de Manuscritos Borbón-Lorenzana*, Madrid 1942, 72-74; A. MILLARES CARLO, *Manuscritos visigóticos: notas bibliográficas*, Barcelona 1963 (Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, 1), 41-42, no. 78. It presents *addenda et corrigenda* to Lorenzana's volume I by Hernández (see fol. 21r). For the *carmina* (to be found in LORENZANA, I, 19-33 and 57-79), Hernández used Azagra's *Gothicus*, this is our Madrid 10029 (*carmina* on fol. 45r-46r and fol. 61r-62v), and Nicolás Antonio's notes (see fol. 45v-46r); for Eugenius' *recensio* of Dracontius (LORENZANA, I, 34-56), he used the exemplar of Azagra's editorial work lent by Velasco. See fol. 46v: "Ad Pag. 34 et sequentes. Post editionem Tomi eruditus vir et Consiliator Regius in supremo Castellae <cameraeque ut dicunt supra. lin.> Senatu, Ferdinandus Josephus Velasco, nobis commodavit <dum viveret supra. lin.> alterum apographum quod habet praefati Michaelis Azagrae complectens libellum Dracontii ab S. Eugenio emendatum, ejusdem Eugenii atque aliorum veterum poetarum carmina. Haec aliorum carmina utpote ad nos haud spectantia omittimus, tantumque subijcimus quicquid pertinet ad Eugenium et Dracontium". At the end of the variants to Dracontius' text, Hernández states (fol. 60v): "hucusque apographum Ferdinandi Velasco".

³³ J. SANCHE RAYÓN, *Catálogo de la biblioteca del Excmo Sr. D. Pedro Caro y Sureda, Marqués de la Romana...*, Madrid 1865, 190: "DRACONTII Opera poetica, cum divi Eugenii Tolet. Praesulis supplemento et Azagrae scholiis originalibus, atque aliis opusculis".

³⁴ It has a previous bookshelf "P.V. C. Fol. 7, n° 1". This is possibly Guzmán's manuscript.

tified another witness to Azagra's work on Dracontius in Toledo, Biblioteca Provincial ms. 79, which contains the corrections by Pedro Hernández to Lorenzana's volume, including the transcription of the prefatory letter and the *ad lectorem*, the commentary and a collation of Dracontius' text³⁵. As we could have already inferred from the edition of Corippus, Azagra proves here to be a careful editor. Based on his *pervetustus codex* and on Morel's edition of 1560, which provided him with the portions of book 1 lacking in his manuscript, he produced good emendations to a number of corrupt lines. Therefore, it would be most desirable to find the complete edition of the poetical texts contained in Madrid, BNE, ms. 10029.

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Recently a copy came to my knowledge. The Biblioteca Capitular of the Cathedral of Seville hosts a very interesting manuscript: ms. 58-1-3 (= S)³⁶. It is a late sixteenth-century manuscript comprising 207 folios, written by two hands (fol. 1-138 and 140-170), with 21 to 31 lines per page, measuring 28 x 20 cm (22,5 x 11,5 cm), with titles in red and the text in dark black ink³⁷. The manuscript presents two textual sets. The first one corresponds to Azagra's edition³⁸.

	S	M
Dracontius in Eugenius of Toledo's version	2r-22v	1r-17v
Notes of commentary	23r-27r	—
Introduction to Eugenius' poems, with Ildefonsus' notice (<i>uir. ill.</i> 13)	27v-28r	—
Eugenius' poems preceded by ICERV 363 ³⁹	28v-39v	52v-60v
Martin of Braga's and other Eugenius' <i>carmina</i>	39v-47v	61r-68v
<i>Appendix Eugeniiana, carm.</i> 1-25 ⁴⁰	47v-53r	69r-74r
Ps.-Isidore's notice on Verecundus (<i>uir. ill.</i> 7, <i>PL</i> 83, 1088)	53r	—

³⁵ ALBERTO, *Notes on the earliest editions*, 781-85.

³⁶ I am most grateful to D. José Francisco Sáez Guillén, Jefe de la Sección de Bibliotecas, Institución Colombina, Sevilla, for his kind help and interest.

³⁷ The watermark is BRIQUET, 5682, year 1582 (e.g. fol. 41; 67). Previous shelfmarks: AA-140-10, 83-6, 83-7-18. On fol. 1 r one reads: "Este libro costó de escribir y encuadernación cinco ducados, los quales se pagaron a Pedro de Nava, que los escribió y hizo encuadernar. Costó más lo de los godos, vándalos y suevos, dezisiete reales que se pagaron a Gabriel Pérez, capellán de la iglesia. Costó más los Annales de España que se escribieron en Toledo y el Chronico de los alanos, vándalos y suevos y godos, nueve reales". A note recalls García de Loaysa' death: "Año de 1546, jueves día 22 de abril y murió en Madrid el cardenal don García de Loaysa, llevaron su cuerpo a Talavera, sepultáronle en San Ginés, que la avía edificado, de la orden de San Domingos".

³⁸ As reference numbers, I use M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum*, Salamanca 1958-1959 (Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y Letras, 13/1-2); Madrid 1959 (= Díaz). In the following table, M stands for Madrid, BNE, ms. 10029, the medieval codex in the possession of Azagra.

³⁹ This is an epigraphic poem on a bridge in Mérida; published in J. VIVES, *Inscripciones Cristianas de la España Romana y Visigoda*, Barcelona 1969, no 363. It will be discussed below.

⁴⁰ MGH, *Auctores Antiquissimi*, ed. F. VOLLMER, 271-77.

Verecundus, <i>De satisfactione paenitentiae</i>	53r-58r	77r-81r
Venantius Fortunatus, <i>carm.</i> 9, 2	58v-61r	135r-137v
Cyprian and Samson of Córdoba, <i>carm.</i> ⁴¹	61v-63r	137v-139r
Díaz 446 and 632 ⁴²	63v-65r	f. 158
Halon Grammaticus, <i>carm.</i> ⁴³	65v-66v	f. 1v
Notes of commentary on Eugenius and the following poems	67r-73v	–

The second set includes historiographical texts taken from several manuscripts, such as the chronica of Alfonso VII (Díaz 920) (fol. 74v-129v), the preface to the poem on the conquest of Almería (Díaz 921) (fol. 130r-138r)⁴⁴, Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* (Díaz 117-119; CPL 1204) (fol. 140r-170v), medieval *annales* and related material.

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With the help of S we can now outline an overall picture of Azagra's complete edition. As said previously, it can be supplemented in respect to Dracontius with Madrid, BNE, ms. 18636-1 (= M^{az}) and Pedro Hernández's transcription in Toledo, Biblioteca Provincial, ms. 79 (= T).

The general title is as follows⁴⁵:

Dracontii poetae de Fabrica Mundi libri duo, per D. Eugenium huius nominis iiii. episcopum Toletanum subcorrecti, eiusdem D. Eugenij atque aliorum veterum poetarum varia carmina. Omnia sunt è tenebris exuta per Michaellem Ruissium Azagram, atque in lucem edita.

The prefatory letter is addressed to the Chapter of Toledo and dated 1577: *Perillustribus et ornatissimis D. D. Decano et Capitulo Toletano Michael Ruissius Assagrius S. P. D.*⁴⁶ As one would expect, the author explains the difficulty of the task, and recounts the discovery of his codex. Most important, he claims that it was Álgar Gómez de Castro (1515-1580), the most influential scholar of the time, who convinced him to edit these rare and unpublished texts. Then comes an explanation on Dracontius, quoting Isidore⁴⁷, Honorius Augustodunensis⁴⁸, Bernar-

⁴¹ Published in J. GIL, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, II, Madrid 1973 (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Manuales y anejos de Emerita, 28), 685-90.

⁴² "Inclite parentis alme Christe" (Díaz 446) and "Imperat omnipotens procul" (Díaz 632), modelled on EUG. TOL., *carm.* 77-79. Published in M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y Librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño 1991, 293-96; GIL, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, II, 690-91.

⁴³ See below.

⁴⁴ Published by Juan Gil in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII, Pars Prima*, ed. E. FALQUE - J. GIL - A. MAYA, Turnhout 1990 (CC CM, 71), 249-67.

⁴⁵ M^{az}, fol. 399r; T, fol. 47r. S lacks the title and the prefatory letter.

⁴⁶ M^{az}, fol. 399r-v; T, fol. 47r-49v.

⁴⁷ *De uiris illustribus*, 24, ed. C. CODOÑER, *El "De Viris Illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio y edición crítica*, Salamanca 1964 (Theses et Studia Philologica Salmanticensia, 12).

⁴⁸ *De luminaribus ecclesiae sive de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, 3, 28 (PL 172, 227), from Isidore, *De uiris illustribus*.

dino Corio (1459-1519)⁴⁹ and Raffaele Maffei Volterrano (1451-1522)⁵⁰, followed by the three quotations of Julian of Toledo with his appreciation of Eugenius, whom he acknowledges as his teacher⁵¹.

After the text of Dracontius in Eugenius' version, comes the commentary: *Michaëlis Ruizij Assagrij In Dracontij libros de Fabrica Mundi Observationes*⁵². An introduction explains that the text was very corrupt in the manuscript he possessed and that a well-known scholar of his days, Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598), informed him about the editions of Guillaume Morel, Paris, 1560⁵³, and of Georgius Fabricius, Basel, 1654 (which is modelled on Morel's)⁵⁴. The French edition is based on a manuscript owned at the time in Saint-Victor, Paris, today our Z (Paris, BnF lat. 14758), which only covers book 1, this is Dracontius' *De laudibus Dei* book I in Eugenius' version⁵⁵. Azagra made full use of Morel's edition, thus being able to fill the gaps presented in his codex (*hex.* 12-55 and 78-121) and to reconstruct the original sequence of verses.

Azagra's achievements as editor have already been analysed in a previous study⁵⁶. I will not return to them here. I shall rather call attention to his notes of commentary⁵⁷.

First of all, the explanation of his critical emendations is most interesting. In *hex.* 396-397:

Sibila dum reticent, necdum serpente natato
Prædicit suillus vim cuiuscumque veneni.

he proposes emending *suillus* to *Psyllus*. The emendation, using the support of

⁴⁹ BERNARDINUS CORIUS, *Patria Historia. Vitae Caesarum continenter descriptae a Julio ad Federicum Aenobarbum*, Mediolani 1503, fol. a viiiv.

⁵⁰ RAPHAEL VOLATERRANUS, *Commentariorum vrbanoorum octo et triginta libri cum duplici eorundem indice secundum tomos collecto. Item Oeconomicus Xenophontis ab eodem latio Donatus*, Romae 1506 (Parisiis 1511, fol. 40v).

⁵¹ M^{az}, fol. 398r; T, fol. 51r-v. See IUL. TOL., *progn.*, ed. J.N. HILLGARTH, Turnhout 1976 (*CC SL*, 115), 3, 17 (p. 92-93); 24 (p. 98); 26 (p. 100).

⁵² S, fol. 23r-27r; M^{az}, fol. 408v-410v; T, fol. 52r-57v.

⁵³ *Cl. Marii Victoris oratoris Massiliensis, Ἀληθείας, seu commentationum in Genesin libri III. Epigrammata varia vetusti cuiusdam auctoris, inter quae sunt et aliquot psalmi versibus redditi. Hilarii Pictaviensis episcopi Genesis. Cypriani Genesis et Sodoma. Dracontii de Opere sex dierum. Omnia versibus, nunc primum e vetustis codicibus expressa*, Parisiis 1560; Eugenius' *Hexaameron* is on 138-58.

⁵⁴ G. FABRICIUS, *Poetarum veterum Ecclesiasticorum Opera Christiana et operum reliquiae atque fragmenta. Thesaurus Catholicae et Orthodoxae Ecclesiae et Antiquitatis religiosae, ad utilitatem iuuentutis scholasticae*, Basileae 1564. The dedicatory letter is dated to 1562. The poem, under the heading *Dracontii Hexaameron seu De opere sex dierum lib. I*, is on col. 351-64.

⁵⁵ On Morel's edition, see ALBERTO, *Eugenii Toletani Opera*, 304-06.

⁵⁶ See above, n. 35.

⁵⁷ In the next pages, I shall use the following sigla: for Eugenius' edition of Dracontius, F (Paris lat. 8093, part I, s. IX¹/3, Lyon); P (Paris lat. 2832, s. IX *med.*, Lyon by Manno of Saint-Oyen); La (Laon 279, s. IX *in.*, Theodulf/Reims?, poss. Laon); Z (Paris lat. 14758, s. XIII, poss. St Victor, Paris); for the original Dracontius: B (Bruxelles 10615-729, c. a. 1150, Trier); C (Berlin, Philipps 1824, part I, s. IX³/3, France); V (Vat. Reg. lat. 1267, part IV, s. IX-X, Beneventan hand); D (Darmstadt 3303, s. IX *med.*, Italy).

Pliny, Celsius, Dio Cassius and Isidore, is appealing: cf. also Lucan 9, 936-7 *cuius morsu superauerit anguis / iam promptum Psyllis uel gustu nosse ueneni*. The manuscripts of Eugenius have *suillus* M / *sibilus* F P, and so had the model of Isidore (*Etym.* 12, 2, 37 *suillus*), who quotes the line, as Azagra points out; the original Dracontius, for which we have only one manuscript, B, has *sibilus*. Sirmond also conjectured *Psyllus*, followed by Rivinus and other authors⁵⁸.

Sometimes his emendations fail to convince us, but they show an attentive editor. In *hex.* 322 (*corporibus nudis et nescia corda liuoris*), he rightly points out that the quantity of *liuor* is awkward. So he conjectured *laboris* (and wrote it in his codex), while others, some time later, proposed *pudoris* (cf. *hex.* 327) (Fabricius, Sirmond); the original Dracontius (C B) has *ruboris* (cf. *Gen.* 2, 25) already conjectured by Jimena Jurado (see also Vollmer in app.). However, *liuor* is in all manuscripts of Eugenius, and the quantity is found in Cyprian Gallus, *iud.* 462.

In *hex.* 457 *quod amoena comantia frondent*, M has an unacceptable *quod amenas orantia frondent*, against the original Dracontius (B) and all the other manuscripts of Eugenius (F P La Z and consequently Morel). Azagra recalls Ovid, *trist.* 5, 2, 23 (*amoena rosaria*) and emends it accordingly.

For emending *Satisfactio*, this is the second book of Eugenius' editorial work, Azagra had no printed help. Here his skills as editor are more perceptive⁵⁹. In *satisf.* 39 (*uulnera uexati curat sua lingua molossi*) he rightly corrected *curant* in M (and F P), considering the quantity of *lingua*, as did later Sirmond and subsequent editors, a reading confirmed by the manuscripts of the original Dracontius (D V). In *satisf.* 132 (quoting ad Ephesios), 174 and 206 and *monost.* 21, his emendations are confirmed by the Carolingian manuscripts. In *satisf.* 176 his codex read *me pugnante comes ab hoste redit*. He rightly saw that a two-syllable word was missing after *comes*, and restored the text with *uictor*, which is the term found in both the original Dracontius and the other manuscripts of Eugenius. In *satisf.* 184 he is wrong in emending Ansila in Athila. But the discussion of the name, quoting Procopius and Volaterranus, is curious. He identified many other corrupt places, but confessed his incapacity to improve them.

Finally he commented on the *monosticha* and the prefatory letter (which in M is found at the end). Since the addressing line is missing he wondered whether the king would be Chindasuinth or his son Reccesuinth, a point elucidated by the Carolingian manuscript tradition: it is Chindasuinth indeed.

After Dracontius, Azagra edited the poems of Eugenius and other presumably Visigothic authors, and those of Verecundus, Venantius Fortunatus in a particular

⁵⁸ ANDREAS RIVINUS, *Dracontii Hispani libellorum biga...*, Lipsiae 1651. A later hand wrote in the margin of S, fol. 25r: "parum haec attente dicuntur. Suilus enim in Dracontio legendum: ut exemplaria comprobant et V.V. Isidori libri: <h>ic neumonem intelligit. Vide Plinius". The late sixteenth-century copy of M, Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica 130, suggests *sibilus* in the margin. It is not accurate to say that the edition of Guillaume Morel already had this emendation: it lacks *Drac. laud. dei* 363-420, already missing in his model (Z). The first editor of the original Dracontius to introduce the emendation was Faustino Arévalo in 1791.

⁵⁹ A list of good emendations, confirmed by the manuscript tradition, is in ALBERTO, *Notes on the earliest editions*, 784-85.

version which circulated in Visigothic Spain⁶⁰, Cyprian and Samson of Córdoba, and finally the epitaphs of Halon the Grammarian. He begins with a letter to the reader and Ildefonsus of Toledo's notice on Eugenius⁶¹. The title is *Divi Eugenii huius nominis Episcopi Toletani atque aliorum veterum Patrum varia carmina*.

The commentary explains some of his emendations. In *carm.* 63, he conjectured *Phoebus* for *rebus* in M – and wrote it in his codex –, an emendation accepted by all editors ever since. At the end of quire 'h-VIII' (fol. 60v), the scribe of M had copied three verses of *carm.* 70, missing previously (the first part of the poem is on fol. 59r): Azagra emended it accordingly. At some points, he tried to improve the text, though unsuccessfully: in *carm.* 33, 20, *seruulis* in M is obviously wrong. Azagra suggested *seruis*, the good reading being *famulis* as given by the consensus of the manuscript tradition. He admits himself unable to restore the corrupt heading of *carm.* 74 (*Ad calidam*), a poem addressed to a king⁶².

Other notes of commentary have a different scope and purpose. They are focused on the identification of the persons referred to in poems and on solving historical inconsistencies. About the verses for a bridge in Mérida (ICERV 363), he correctly points out that the name of the king, Eruig (680-687), does not match with the date, A.D. 483, nor with the bishop referred to, Zeno. Actually the poem refers to King Euric (466-484), when Zeno was bishop of Mérida. In *carm.* 69, the editor saw that the name of King Wamba, unacceptable on metrical grounds, does not fit well in the poem if it is indeed Eugenius', as already Ambrosio de Morales had noticed⁶³. Vollmer suggested emending to *Reccesuinth*⁶⁴. Most likely both cases represent a process of 'actualization' in the transmission of the poetic anthology. In *carm.* 8, meant to preface a Bible, he wrongly identifies the author as John, Braulio's brother: actually John is the commissioner, the author is Eugenius. He refuses to attribute the epigram to a church of John the Baptist, "Precursor Domini, martyr Bap̄tista Iohannes" (ICERV 314; App. *Eug.*, *carm.* 48) to Eugenius, once the date in the manuscript is later than the poet's death, and points out that the epigraph (or rather a copy of it) survives in the church of San Juan de Baños, as already Morales had noticed⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ P.F. ALBERTO, *Venancio Fortunato en la Hispania visigótica*, in *Sub luce florentis calami. Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz*, ed. M. DOMÍNGUEZ GARCÍA *et al.*, Santiago de Compostela 2002, 251-69.

⁶¹ S, fol. 27v: *Michael Ruizius Assagrius ad lectorem*: "Post Dracontij de fabrica mundi libros duos quatuorque Gorippi Africani Grammatici de laudibus Iustini Augusti minoris alio tempore à nobis aedendos, subsequuntur statim in veteri nostro codice varia carmina nullo libri titulo nec auctoris nomine adhibito, quorumque plerumque & si Divi Eugenii manifesto sint, alia tamen auctores alios procul dubio referunt. Placuit itaque preposita ipsius Divi Eugenij vita per Divum Hildefonsum pr̄sulem etiam Toletanum conscripta, utpote quæ ad horum carminum intelligentiam multum sit allatura momenti, omnia ad verbum ex exemplari representare adiectis interim nostris animadversionibus, ubi id locus maxime postulabit".

⁶² In my edition (*Eugenii Toletani Opera*, 266), I have conjectured *Ad Chindam*. Already Hernández in his emendations to Lorenzana's edition had proposed that the poem could have been addressed to King Chindasuinth (T, fol. 62v).

⁶³ See Madrid, BNE, ms. 18437, fol. 130r.

⁶⁴ *Die Gedichtsammlung des Eugenius von Toledo*, «Neues Archiv», 26 (1901), 391-409: 408.

⁶⁵ See Morales' note in Madrid 18437, fol. 136v. The poem is usually dated in A.D. 652.

Azagra identifies Evantius, the son of the Nicolaus mentioned in *carm.* 28 and 29, as the *comes scantiarum*, one of the *Viri inlustres Officii Palatini*, who attended the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653⁶⁶. In the epigram for a church of St Aemilian (*carm.* 11), he points out the closeness to Braulio of Zaragoza's *Vita s. Aemiliani*, and rightly identifies Saint Felix in *carm.* 12 as the martyr of Gerona; curiously, he was unable to identify the place of the church ('Tutanesius' / 'Tatanesius'), as we still are⁶⁷. He considered the Sapphic stanzas of *carm.* 14 in Vollmer's edition as a separate poem⁶⁸. The epitaph of Queen Reccibergera (*carm.* 26) prompts a curious issue already present in Ambrosio de Morales. When Morales published Eugenius' poem modelled on M, he changed the name of the husband given in the epitaph from Reccesuinth to Chindasuinth⁶⁹. This was most likely motivated by his acquaintance with a dubious document of donation of King Chindasuinth, Reccesuinth's father, to Fructuosus, bishop of Braga, concerning the founding in 646 of the monastery of Compludo, to which Morales refers a couple of folios before⁷⁰.

See J. GIL, *Epigraphica III*, «Cuadernos de Filología Clásica», 14 (1978), 83-120: 86-92; Id., *Fichas epigráficas*, «Habis», 39 (2008), 369-75: 371-73; J. DEL HOYO, *A propósito de la inscripción dedicatoria de San Juan de Baños*, in *Temptanda viast. Nuevos estudios sobre la poesía epigráfica latina*, ed. C. FERNÁNDEZ - J. GÓMEZ PALLARÉS, Bellaterra 2006, 90-98 (dating the epigram to A.D. 661).

⁶⁶ See L. GARCÍA MORENO, *Prosopografía del reino visigodo de Toledo*, Salamanca 1974 (Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y Letras, 77), 48, no. 56; G. MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ - F. RODRÍGUEZ, *La colección canónica Hispana. V. Concilios Hispanos: segunda parte*, Madrid 1992, 447.

⁶⁷ C. GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, *El culto de los santos en la España Romana y Visigoda*, Madrid 1966, 306, suggested that it might be identified with Totanés, which lies some thirty kilometres southwest of Toledo, but no evidence supports this view.

⁶⁸ I had reached the same conclusion in *Notes on Eugenius of Toledo*, «Classical Quarterly», 49 (1999), 304-14.

⁶⁹ AMBROSIO DE MORALES, *Coronica General*, III, 1577, lib. 12, cap. 28 (fol. 137v): "En el libro Gothico antiguo del secretario Miguel Ruyz de Açagra, de quien ya dixere en su lugar estan entre otros epigramas los epitaphios deste Rey y de la Reyna su muger. Y no ay duda sino que el author dellos es el arçobispo Eugenio, pues estan entre sus obras. El del Rey mas parece elegia, por ser muy largo, y assi lo dexare, por no tener tan poco cosa, que a la historia pertenezca. El de la Reyna su muger dize assi. [...]". He then transcribes the epitaph of Reccibergera, just changing the name of the husband (fol. 138r).

⁷⁰ Morales claims that his source was a copy produced in the time of Ramirus III, owned by the church of Astorga (III, fol. 135v-136r); there are other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies: Toledo 27-24, commissioned by Bautista Pérez in 1580-1590; PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL, *Primera parte de las fundaciones de los Monesterios del glorioso Padre San Benito*, Madrid 1601: *De la fundacion del monesterio de S. Pedro de Montes en el Vierzo*, fol. 16v-17v (reproducing Morales' text, but giving "Reccesuinth" in the translation of the piece (fol. 13v); ANTONIO YEPES, *Cronica general de la orden de San Benito, Patriarca de Religiosos*, Valladolid 1615, II, cent. 2, scriptur. 13. According to the tradition, Chindasuinth and Reccibergera were buried at the monastery of San Román de Hornija, near Toro (province of Valladolid). The tomb of the king is still there, and the church is today labelled as the Museo del rey Chindasvinto. In 1820, during some restoration works, the epitaph presenting Baronius' version was written on a piece of vellum, which was attached to the tomb: see F. FARCIA SOLOMINOS, *Sepulcro de los Reyes Godos Chindasvinto y su muger Recisverga*, «Semanario Pitoresco Español», 4/3 (1849), 275-76; E. HÜBNER, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, Berlin 1871; 1900 (*Supplementum*), 99, no. 52*. When Morales visited the place, there was no inscription there (III, fol. 137v): "Allí esta la sepultura del rey en una capilla en una gran tumba de marmol blanco, su cubierta de lo mismo. Letras no ay en la capilla, ni en el tumulo". Prudencio de Sandoval, in 1601, also de-

The document was allegedly signed by Chindasuinth and 'his wife' Reccibergera. Azagra followed Morales' proposal against his manuscript. If this is correct, then it corresponds to the above-mentioned process of 'actualization' in the transmission of the poetic anthology. In any case, the lack of further information about the queen makes the emendation hazardous. Actually the authenticity of the document has always been controversial.

Finally, there are also a few notes on lexicon. *Carm.* 30 is about the nightingale, exploring the wordplay μέλος / μέλας. He did not understand the (false) pun, once *philomela* has, of course, a long -e- (i.e. Φιλομήλα), and so he asserts that the poet is wrong in composing on such a fictitious etymology: but one may wonder how sensitive Eugenius was to the quantities of Greek words. He discusses the word *passer* in *carm.* 34 and *arula* in *carm.* 71, in both cases giving the Spanish correspondents ('pazaros', 'asnillo'); in *carm.* 25, 19, he discusses the rare term *biblatteus*.

The commentary on the other texts is primarily focused on identifying the authors. Azagra correctly states that Martinus, who in the codex is designated *Gerundensis*, is, after all, the bishop of Braga in the time of the Sueves, and explains his debt to Sidonius Apollinaris, as Sirmond is to do some time later⁷¹. He identifies Verecundus, Venantius Fortunatus, and the Cordoban Cyprian, Samson and Ofilo. Finally he comments on the four epitaphs of Queen Constance, second wife of Alfonso VI (1065-1109), king of León and Castilla, added by a Carolingian hand to the first verso of M, which had been left unused between the prefatory poem and book I of Dracontius. He rightly saw that this Halon was the French grammarian who came to Spain in 1079 with Constance († 1093), and that he was somehow related to bishop Bernard of Toledo⁷².

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The hazardous circumstances of life prevented Miguel Ruiz de Azagra, the eminent secretary to the archdukes of Austria, from seeing his work printed. It would have been not only the *editio princeps* of Eugenius and his revised edition of Dracontius, and of a number of anonymous poems from seventh- and ninth-century Spain, but also of Verecundus, whose first edition only appeared in 1858 by

scribes the tomb, mentioning no funerary inscriptions (*Primera parte de las fundaciones...: De la fundacion del monesterio de S. Roman de Hornisga*, fol. 13r). At present, there is an inscription in stone on the wall dated 1858, based on Lorenzana's text, which allegedly replaced the vellum inscription.

⁷¹ *Beati Eugeni Toletani Opuscula*, ed. SIRMOND, 57-58 (from F P). Already Morales had noted that the author should be Martinus Dumiensis, i.e. Bracarensis (Madrid, BNE, ms. 18437, fol. 132r).

⁷² P.F. ALBERTO, *Vida Intelectual y Poesía en el Reino de León (910-1109)*, in *Monarquía y Sociedad en el Reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII*, León 2007 (Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, 118), II, 141-72, at 166-72; M. ECHEVERRÍA GAZTELUMENDI - T.M. RODRÍGUEZ, *En torno a la figura de Alón. Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Latín Medieval (León, 1-4 de diciembre de 1993)*, ed. M. PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ, León 1995, 495-501.

the efforts of Jean Baptiste Pitra⁷³, but of Cyprian and Samson's poems, which were only published in 1753 by Henrique Flórez⁷⁴.

Azagra reveals himself a good editor and an acceptable scholar. His method is noteworthy. He restored many lines, some times conjecturing a solution which was later confirmed by the manuscript tradition. He had a deep interest in the sources. He tried to gather information on the authors, using Isidore, Ildefonsus, Honorius Augustodunensis, Volaterranus, Corio. To support his emendations he quotes Pliny, Ovid, Isidore, Ildefonsus, the Bible, Celsius, Dio Cassius, Procopius, Sidonius Apollinaris. He identified both quotations of Dracontius in Isidore⁷⁵, and tried to match many epigrams of Eugenius on birds, minerals and objects with the *Etymologies*⁷⁶. His edition would have been a milestone in the editorial history of late-antique and early-medieval authors in Spain. So Caspar von Barth could not be more right when he requested from the kind reader to be provided with a copy of the Spanish scholar's unprinted edition.

⁷³ J.B. PITRA, *De satisfactione paenitentiae*, Parisiis 1858 (Spicilegium Solesmense, IV), 138-43. The edition is based on Douai, BM 290.

⁷⁴ *España Sagrada*..., XI, Madrid 1753, 524-28.

⁷⁵ DRAC. *laud. dei* 1, 515 (= ISID. *etym.* 12, 2, 37); *satisf.* 63 (*etym.* 6, 9, 1).

⁷⁶ See S, fol. 34r-36r.

APPENDIX

The praefatory letter of Ruiz de Azagra's edition
(M^{az}, fol. 399r-v; T, fol. 47r-49v)

DRACONTII POETAE DE FABRICA MUNDI LIBRI DUO

per D. Eugenium huius nominis iii. episcopum Toletanum subcorrecti,
eiusdem D. Eugenij atque aliorum veterum Poetarum varia carmina. Omnia
sunt ex tenebris exuta per Michaellem Ruissium Azagrium atque in lucem edita

Perillustribus et ornatissimis D. D. Decano et Capitulo Toletano
Michael Ruissius Assagrius
S. P. D.

Magnificentissimum equidem et vestra pietate dignissimum, patres amplissimi, institutum vestrum mihi visum est, quod de conquirendis antiquorum Ecclesie Vestre Toletane Pontificum scriptis eisque operâ uestrà et diligentia in lucem edendis audio. Atque vtinam prioribus retro seculis ea cura describendorum et propagandorum librorum, ut magis necessaria erat, ita ab ecclesiasticis viris, à quibus peculiari quodam jure id officium requirendum erat, observata fuisset diligenter. Non enim tot vigiliis lucubrationibusque illustrium virorum cum maximo nostro malo careremus, nec quæ ab injuria temporum et barbarorum vindicare nobis suprafuerunt, ita mutilæ laceræ tenebrisque sepiissime circumductæ cernerentur. Cujus preclarissimi instituti uestri cum Alvarus Gomesius, vir præstantis ingenij et doctrinæ singularis, me admonuisset instanterque requireret ut quæ opera diui Eugenij huius nominis tertij aut potius secundi Episcopi Toletani apud me essent in lucem dare non recusarem. Principio quidem abnui nec sine justis causis, quæ me in hanc sententiam pertraherent. Sed cum ab eodem Alvaro Gomesio vestro nomine sepius quasi molestarer, inuitus plane mutare sententiam sum coactus. Quodque hæc longiorem aliquanto narrationem postulant, visum est etiam, patres amplissimi, pluribus uerbis modò eadem explicare. Admirabili quodam certè fato, pervenit ante aliquot annos ad manus meas volumen satis magnum et vetustissimum litteris Gothicis in carta pergamena (vt uocant) conscriptum, quod uel solius antiquitatis nomine est profecto uenerandum, cum non ex conjecturis sed fide argumentisque planè certissime constet, ante septingentos et eo amplius annos fuisse descriptum. In eo continentur varia opera diversorum auctorum eius ætatis qua jam imperium Romanum declinare barbariesque latè omnia occupare coeperat: eaque (præter unam D. Eulogij Cordubensis Martyris vitam) carmine conscripta: sed tanta librarij ipsius negligentia aut potius ignorantia, ut potius congesta tumultuario quodam indiscretoque ordine quàm ullo adhibito iudicio plerisque in locis descripta uideamur. Accedit ad hæc mala infelicitum illorum temporum non adeo exquisita raræque doctrina, nedum latine lingue proprietates elegantiaque observata: cum præter alia multa ad infamiam usque incommoda passim ipsa carminum ratio quantitasque syllabarum uel pueris hodie cognita desiderentur. Quibus de causis permotus ego, cum semper fuerim eius opinionis atque sententiæ non esse in aliena opera

manus temere injiciendas nec ad emendanda nec ad lucem edenda. Timebam quam maximè ne celebritatem nominis, doctrinæ suavitatem et abundantiam in nostris antiquis auctoribus aucupantes, indignitatem potiùs aliquam præter omnium spem in ipsorum libris diuulgandis patefaceremus: præsertim apud nostræ ætatis multos homines audaciores oculos auersos aut sacrilegos potiùs in omnia collimantes. Sed cum apud uos, Patres amplissimi, nihil amplius aut antiquius sit quàm uestrorum Pontificum qualiacumque extent opera in lucem edere, censeatisque indignitatis offensionisue nihil in ipsos redundare ex illa sæculi infelicitate quando melius nec elegantius uel maxime laboriosis et ingeniosis hominibus consequi licebat, placuit tandem efflagitationibus vestris morem gerere: iudiciumque meum (quod certe exiguum aut nullum in litteris duco) uestro sapientissimorum prudentissimorumque virorum omnino submittere. Mitto jam ad vos Dracontij Poetæ libros duos de Fabrica Mundi per Divum Eugenium (ut ipsius proprio uocabulo utar) subcorrectos eiusdemque Diui Eugenij et aliorum veterum Patrum varia carmina, cum nostris in eadem omnia adjectis obseruationibus. Vestrum modo erit, Patres amplissimi, si quod in his operibus minus expectatione uestra dignum inuenietis me ab omni culpæ genere excusatum habere: quos etiam minimè dubito, meam in alienis laboribus castigandis, aut quicquam in ipsis immutandi continentiam probaturos atque etiam laudaturos fore. Id enim apud me semper tum rationi consentaneum, tum verò animo meo quasi infixum fuit, antiquos Auctores Scriptoresque cujuscumque notae etiamsi balbutientes vel etiam barbarissimos, suâ potiùs ipsorum linguâ, quam per alios emendata aut immutata eloquentiores artificiosè factos, et elegantes, ita et intelligendos ab omnibus fore. Ceterum in ijs Auctoribus quomodocumque ex unico exemplari nostro manuscripto eoque deprauatissimo restituendis, quantum laboris mihi subeundem fuerit, quot fera monstra domanda, ijs tantum dijudicandum relinquo qui aliquando etiam in ejusdem generis labore desudarunt. Quodsi quandoque fortassis exemplar alicubi alterum reperiretur, non dubito quin multo auctiores emendatioresque prænominati Auctores in lucem prodire possent. Sed quoad id nobis eveniat, non inutile quidem fuerit nostratibus hæc eadem qualiacumque extant præ oculis diuulgata ad legendum habere. Atque hæc, Patres amplissimi, sunt quæ vobis hac epistola præfari ante omnia voluimus, cetera in nostris obseruationibus ubi locus opportunus se offeret explicatura. Datae Madridij Kalendas Aprilis anno seruatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi. M.D.LXXVII.